

Prison Food on the Plains: the Role of Food Production in the Rehabilitative Curriculum of the Kansas Industrial School for Girls

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Prisons have been a common feature of the American landscape since the days of the American Revolution. Accordingly, the nature of penal institutions in the United States of America has evolved alongside mainstream culture, particularly with regards to the recognition of gender differences. While prison administrators in colonial America often treated male and female prisoners with equal disdain, American penal reformers in the 19th century began to pay particular attention to the plight of women prisoners, realizing that differences did in fact exist between the experiences of imprisoned men and imprisoned women. This penal reform movement of the 19th century propagated reformatory methods of imprisonment—as opposed to the custodial methods of the past—through the “feminization” of the prison institution, emphasizing the rehabilitation of the female prisoner from her incarceration to her reintroduction into society. Out of this nationwide project to recognize female prisoners’ distinct needs and reform prison life, in 1889 the Kansas Industrial School for Girls was established in Beloit, Kansas. In order to reclaim girls from a “wayward life of immoral behavior,” the Kansas Industrial School for Girls focused on the improvement of girls through a program of physical, mental, and moral training.¹

Modern historians, focusing on rehabilitative female penal institutions similar to the Kansas Industrial School for Girls, have begun to analyze the unique role of women as prisoners throughout American history and a number of distinguished historians have made great progress in illuminating a subject area once solely dedicated to the study of the male prison experience. Yet where modern scholarship has focused on the gendered nature of the penal institution and the penal reform movement, it has not begun to view the rehabilitation of female prisoners from the perspective of the food historian. Through an examination of reports and records of the Kansas Industrial School for Girls, this article aims to explore the role of domestic food production and culinary training in the feminized curriculum of the Industrial School, a school that embodies the feminized penal institution emblematic of the late 19th century women’s penal reform movement.

¹ State Board of Corrections of the State of Kansas, *Second Biennial Report of the State Board of Corrections For the Two Years Ending June 30, 1916* (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1916), 648.

In early America, separate rehabilitative institutions such as the Kansas Girls' Industrial School did not exist. In fact, prisons themselves were far less prevalent in colonial America because alternative methods of punishment were preferred, namely capital and public punishment.² Where prisons did exist, they were often simply single rooms of incarceration, unexceptional except for their dirty, rough and overcrowded nature.³ Early prisons housed both men and women and aimed to treat them in an equal manner, yet this aim was rarely achieved. Because all of the incarcerated individuals were housed together in a large single cell, the physically weak, in most cases the women, were frequently relegated to a submissive role. Thus women in early prisons, strictly because of their gender, were subjected to mistreatment. Not only did incarcerated women suffer at the hands of their physically dominant male peers, they also suffered because the early prisons were entirely staffed by male warders. Male warders often used their authoritative power to physically and sexually abuse the female prisoners; one historian even notes various instances of forced prostitution of female inmates.⁴ The male warders unknowingly rationalized this abusive and exploitative treatment of women by relying upon the widespread cultural opinion that women, because of their gender and the corrupt nature of the "immoral" behavior that landed them in jail, were beyond any attempt at redemption or reformation.⁵ In short, gender was not recognized in early penal policy of the United States, a lack of recognition that significantly exposed women to various forms of abuse and ill treatment.

While early American prison policy did not acknowledge the female prisoner's plight, the mistreatment of incarcerated women inspired early female prison reformers. Following a tour of northeastern American prisons, Englishwomen Elizabeth Fry published her observations and prescriptions in her book entitled "Observations on the Visiting, Superintendence and Government of Female Prisoners" in 1825.⁶ Drawing upon her experiences while visiting American prisons, Fry returned home and championed the separation of prisoners along gender lines and the supervision of female prisoners by female warders.⁷ Fry's American reformist counterparts continued the movement in the United States, founding the Women's Prison Association of New York in 1853, the first such penal organization of its kind.⁸ American reformers, similar to Fry, sought to establish separate penal institutions for women, but they also heavily emphasized the reformation of female inmates, particularly reformation through the instill-

² Dana M. Britton, *At Work in the Iron Cage: the Prison as Gendered Organization* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 22.

³ Joycelyn M. Pollock, *Women, Prison, & Crime* (Belmont: Nelson Thomson Learning, 2002), 23.

⁴ Estelle B. Freedman, *Their Sister's Keepers: Women's Prison Reforms in America, 1830-1930* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981), 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁶ Pollock, *Women*, 24.

⁷ Estelle B. Freedman, "Their Sister's Keepers: A Historical Perspective of Female Correctional Institutions in the U.S.," *Feminist Studies*, 2 (1974): 79

⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

ment of feminine values in the female prisoners.⁹ It was not until later in the 18th century however, that the American reformers achieved their goals. At the 1870 National Prison Conference, a meeting of male wardens, superintendents, and other prison officials, penal leaders agreed that women should be separated from their male counterparts; further, penal leaders decided that a system of feminine programs should be used in these newly founded all female institutions.¹⁰ This conference was particularly important because it was the first official recognition, by male authorities, of women's prisoner rights.

In the following decades, particularly from the 1870s through the turn of the century, individual states built a number of female-only institutions. Early on, they did not all strictly adhere to the model of reformation as advocated by female reformers and declared by the male dominated prison conference of 1870.¹¹ A few female prisons remained attached to the custodial approach, an approach that emphasized the use of traditional and punitive means, but many "reformatories" were established upon the rehabilitative principles championed by early female penal reformers. In particular, these turn-of-the-century reformatories sought to improve the morality of their female inmates. This pursuit of moral rehabilitation reflects the changing cultural conceptions of the female offender in the late 19th and early 20th century. According to historian Vernetta Young, "whereas women had previously been thought as thoroughly corrupt as men, increasingly they were seen as 'wayward girls' who had simply been led astray and who could, therefore, be led back to the paths of 'proper' behavior."¹² In other words, beginning in the late 19th century, prison administrators began to insist that female offenders simply lacked moral virtue when failing to live up to the culturally conceived moral standards of the time period. As Young suggests, this conception of female criminality differed greatly from past generations that had viewed female criminals as equally corrupt as their male counterparts.

One institution that focused on the rehabilitation of morality was the Hudson House of Refuge, built in 1887.¹³ The Hudson House was unique from traditional prisons of the past in that it was built on the "cottage system," where inmates found a homelike atmosphere devoid of the stereotypical cells and bars of conventional prisons.¹⁴ This was important because it was emblematic of the feminized nature, in the strict architectural sense, of the separate women's

⁹ "Feminine" values, in an early 20th century context, reflect the gendered nature of early American society. These early reformers sought to instill "feminine" values in female prisoners in hopes that the reformed prisoners would fit seamlessly into the culturally constructed role for women of the time period.

¹⁰ E.C. Wines, *Transactions of the National Congress on Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline Held at Cincinnati, Ohio, October 12-18, 1870* (Albany: Werd, Parsons and Company, 1871), 543.

¹¹ Nicole Rafter, *Partial Justice: State Prisons and Their Inmates, 1800-1935* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1985), 33.

¹² Vernetta D. Young and Rebecca Reviere, *Women Behind Bars: Gender and Race in US Prisons* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006), 38.

¹³ Pollock, *Women*, 27.

¹⁴ Freedman, *Their Sister's Keepers: A Historical Perspective*, 88.

prisons of the late 19th century. Simply put, through a more feminine prison environment, an environment absent of masculine architectural features, penal reformers hoped to adapt the predominately masculine prison structure to a softer and more feminine design they thought better suited to improve the behavior of the female inmates. Not only did prisoners at Hudson House live in cottages that better resembled private homes than the monolithic prison structures of the typical prison for male inmates, they also participated in a noticeably feminized daily program that emphasized domestic training, including cooking, gardening, and farming.¹⁵ This sort of training contrasted with the daily program of hard labor, most notably the production of coal, in which male prisoners of the day participated. Instead of being imprisoned in a masculine environment or working in the masculine industries of their male counterparts, female prisoners in the newly founded reformatory enjoyed the hospitality of a feminine institution and the privileges of an equally feminine program that reformers believed would be specifically suited to the reformation of female deviants.

In 1889, the State of Kansas officially established the Kansas Industrial School for Girls. The Kansas Industrial School for Girls, located in Beloit, Kansas (a rural town in the north central region of the state), adopted the primary objectives of the women's penal reform movement, placing heavy emphasis on the reformation of the female prisoner's morality. Where American penal psychologists defined male criminality as the product of a disordered life, idle behavior, or lack of work ethic, Kansas prison administrators characterized female criminality as a result of wayward morality.¹⁶ This characterization is reflected in the crimes of the prisoners sentenced to the prison. Of the seventy-one girls that constituted the population of the Kansas Industrial School for Girls, forty-eight were committed solely because of "Incorrigibility, Delinquency and Immorality."¹⁷ While these offenses appear quite vague to the modern eye, considering the gendered nature of the early twentieth century world, these crimes can be directly traced to the concept of moral deviance; the women committed to the Industrial School were guilty of not living within their gendered societal roles. Important to the rehabilitative nature of the Kansas Industrial School, therefore, was the concept that the female prisoners were not hardened criminals, but simply girls that had drifted from the "proper" moral path. Thus instead of strictly focusing on improving a masculine conception of work ethic within each inmate, as was the common objective of the male prisons of the time, the Industrial School focused on the task of reforming the moral nature of the incarcerated women.

Simply reforming the moral character of the imprisoned was not the only objective of the Kansas Industrial School. The Industrial School also sought

¹⁵ Freedman, *Their Sister's Keepers: Women's Prison Reforms*, 68.

¹⁶ Kansas Board of Control of the State Charitable Institutions of Kansas, *First Annual and Biennial Report of the Board of Control of the State Charitable Institutions of Kansas, for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1906* (Topeka: State Printing Office, 1906), 648; Britton, *At Work in the Iron Cage*, 26.

¹⁷ State Board of Corrections, *Second Biennial Report*, 106.

to provide the women with manual skills that would allow them to function as “proper” women in early 20th century American society. The merits of teaching manual skills to the women did not rest in practicality alone; early prison administrators also felt that manual skill and labor had a direct influence on moral virtue. As Julia B. Perry, superintendent of the Kansas Industrial School for Girls from 1900-1910, stated in her 1906 report to the Governor of Kansas, “manual training is the best training that can be given to develop the morals.”¹⁸ Another benefit of learning a manual skill, according to Perry, was that “the spirit of industry is the greatest safeguard against a life of vice and crime.” In that respect, early administrators such as Perry felt that manual training would inhibit future criminal behavior. Yet, although superintendent Perry recognized the values of teaching practical manual skills to the imprisoned women, the main goal of the Kansas Industrial School for Girls was moral rehabilitation, reflected in her statement claiming that, “Morality must be the ultimate end to be accomplished in all teaching.”¹⁹ In other words, while the Industrial school intended to teach the prisoners manual skills, the main objective of the Kansas Industrial School for Girls was centered on reforming the morality of the women, an objective that paralleled the broader women’s penal reform movement.

In order to create an atmosphere suitable for the reformation of the female moral character, the Kansas Industrial School for Girls adopted both the architectural and administrative structure of the Hudson House and of the broader women’s reformatory movement. Structurally, the Industrial School for Girls developed along the cottage system model, one that more resembled a farmstead than a typical penitentiary. The Industrial School for Girls included only one cottage in 1895, but soon expanded to include two other cottages, a chicken coop, a detached laundry building, and a large stock barn by 1902.²⁰ Further following the female-specific penal reform prescriptions of Elizabeth Fry, women filled the Industrial School’s administrative ranks, serving as administrators, guards, and educators. These strong women, known as matrons, assumed an authoritarian, yet motherly role over the inmates. Women, rather than men, in positions of authority at the Kansas Industrial School for Girls lessened the opportunity for abuse and neglect based upon gender differences, but more importantly, gave the female prisoners a motherly feminine presence after which they could model their lives. In this way, the style of imprisonment exposed female prisoners incarcerated at the Industrial School to a more homelike and late 19th century “feminine” atmosphere, as opposed to the infamous masculine penal institutions for male prisoners located in Lansing and Leavenworth Kansas. Housed in a softer, more feminine cottage system and guarded solely by refined female wardens, the incarcerated women of the Industrial School were not just exposed to a more

¹⁸ Kansas Board of Control, *First Annual and Biennial Report*, 649.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 651.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 664.

feminine atmosphere, but rather “surrounded with an atmosphere of morality,” as described by a University of Kansas professor of sociology in 1912.²¹

The Industrial School’s curriculum was the most important tool administrators developed in their quest to reform inmates’ moral character. The curriculum of the Kansas Industrial School, as in other similarly structured reformatories for women, consisted of a two-pronged program, focused on both mental and physical training. The mental training consisted primarily of education in a classroom setting, while the physical training incorporated physical exercise with the obtainment of manual skills. In order to reform the female prisoners’ morality, the primary goal identified by Superintendent Perry in 1906, administrators established programs that placed heavy emphasis on what they felt were the proper vocations for women of the time period; they placed substantial emphasis on the reformation of the female prisoner’s morality through domestic labor and domestic education. According to the prison administrators, not only would the mental and physical training improve the moral character of the imprisoned, it would also provide the women with domestic skills and practical knowledge useful in their reintroduction into the rural environment of early 20th century Kansas. Central to curriculum of the Kansas Industrial School for Girls was a daily schedule of the rehabilitative training, of the mental and physical variety, focused on turning what society perceived to be morally deviant women into females that could adequately function within the gender based roles of society, specifically in the role of functioning homemaker.

The “Domestic Science” department played a central role in the mental training portion of the Kansas Industrial School for Girls’ rehabilitative curriculum.²² According to the report of superintendent Perry, the domestic science department adopted a curriculum and structure that reflected the agriculturally based curriculum and structure of the Kansas Agricultural College, the predecessor to modern day Kansas State University. In 1906, the Industrial School offered imprisoned women a total of six hours of formal instruction each day, broken down into four separate classes, each lasting an hour and a half.²³ By 1916 however, the number of available hours of formal instruction per day increased to eight, as each class lengthened to two full hours.²⁴ This two-hour increase over a ten-year period likely reflects the increased emphasis prison administrators put on education. Compared to the thirty-minute time-span allotted for formal music education via the music department and one half hour allotted for formal physical exercise via the gymnasium department, the domestic science department stands out in the amount of formal instruction offered.²⁵ As its name suggests, the domestic

²¹ Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas; A Cyclopedia of State History, Embracing Events, Institutions, Industries, Counties, Cities, Towns, Prominent Persons, etc. : With a Supplementary Volume Devoted to Selected Personal History and Reminiscence* (Chicago: Standard Publishing Co., 1912), 933-936.

²² State Board of Corrections, *Second Biennial Report*, 100.

²³ Kansas Board of Control, *First Annual and Biennial Report*, 668.

²⁴ State Board of Corrections, *Second Biennial Report*, 100

²⁵ State Board of Corrections, *Second Biennial Report*, 97.

science department's curriculum was focused on activities critical to the proper maintenance of a family and household. For instance, in the domestic science department, prisoners spent a small portion of their time learning the proper techniques for laundering clothes. In fact, under the watchful eye of a teacher, the female prisoners applied the laundry skills they learned; they laundered all of the aprons, towels, and linens used throughout the facility.²⁶

Yet while the programs of the domestic science department encompassed laundering, domestic food production formed the core of the department's curriculum. In order for the female prisoners to be reformed and reintroduced into society as functioning homemakers, it was critical that they learn to perform the gendered role of homemaker, namely how to properly produce three meals a day in a domestic setting. Through mental training and education, the women learned these skills. They began by studying food itself; prisoners studied the different nutritional values of foods, the composition of specific foods, and the different ways to select and prepare certain foods.²⁷ Beyond that, the curriculum covered dietary considerations in preparing food for the sick. Inmates also learned the proper way to preserve fresh foods for wintertime, deploying the most modern technology available for this economically motivated endeavor, "canning."²⁸ In 1916, superintendent Miss Franklin R. Wilson summarized the educational effort, with regards to the food production, of the Domestic Science department, saying that, "the relation of food to health and the economy in the preparation of food has been emphasized."²⁹ By learning about the proper selection, preparation, and preservation of foods, as well as domestic health and economic considerations in the preparation of food, the inmates at the Kansas Industrial School for Girls increased their ability to function as homemakers in the early 20th century.

The training in the domestic science department did not stop with simply learning the theory behind proper methods for the selection, preparation, and preservation of food, but instead continued as the prisoners applied the theory in practical settings. As part of their education, prisoners used the knowledge learned in the educational programs to plan, prepare, and serve breakfasts, lunches, and dinners to their fellow inmates within each cottage.³⁰ Preparing actual meals under the watchful eye of a female warden allowed each prisoner to get hands-on experience in the techniques of domestic food production, hands on experience administrators considered essential to the female prisoners' rehabilitation and reintroduction into society. Standing in stark contrast to the cafeteria-style dining environment of the men's prison, the familial atmosphere provided by the cottage system was ideal for this type of hands-on experience. The cottage system was ideal because it allowed the women to prepare meals in a small domestic setting, a setting that closely mimicked the atmosphere in which prison administrators

²⁶ Kansas Board of Control, *First Annual and Biennial Report*, 668.

²⁷ *Ibid.*; State Board of Corrections, *Second Biennial Report*, 100.

²⁸ Kansas Board of Control, *First Annual and Biennial Report*, 668.

²⁹ State Board of Corrections, *Second Biennial Report*, 100.

³⁰ Kansas Board of Control, *First Annual and Biennial Report*, 668.

envisioned the women working. If women were deficient in their household skills, administrators gave them further instruction, such as a bi-weekly class that taught special serving lessons to women with less developed skills.³¹ Where women became proficient in the domestic realm, they were allowed to prepare and serve a meal each evening to the administrators of the prison.³² Regardless if their domestic skills were lacking, or if they possessed advanced abilities, the imprisoned women at the Kansas Industrial School for Girls had the opportunity to improve upon their household skills through the educational programs and practical experiences provided by the domestic science department.

Although the female prisoners' hands-on work, such as preparing and serving food, can certainly be considered work of a physical nature because the women physically prepared and served the meals, the physical portion of the Kansas Industrial School for Girls' rehabilitative curriculum, according to prison administrators, actually rested in the agricultural production of the various foodstuffs needed for self-sufficiency. In the dairy department the prisoners supplied manual labor and provided the institution with foodstuffs, while at the same time improving their moral character through physical labor. The Industrial School established the dairy department in 1906, utilizing the large stock barn erected four years earlier. When reporting on the work of inmates in the dairy department, superintendent Perry acknowledged, "eight to ten [prisoners] engage regularly in this work."³³ In the early years of the dairy department, the work consisted of manually milking the cows and manually processing the milk, separating the milk from the butter. This work was known to be quite tedious and labor intensive, yet superintendent Perry reported that the inmates were "greatly in love with this industry."³⁴ From its humble beginnings in 1906, the dairy department at the Kansas Industrial School for Girls substantially increased each year. The year 1916 was, in particular, a year marked by expansion. The dairy department added six mature cows to the operation, along with a number of heifers born to the existing members of the herd.³⁵ In addition, funds accumulated by selling steers from 1907-1915 allowed the dairy department to expand structurally and add an electric separator in the barn. The electric separator significantly reduced the manual labor involved in separating the milk, allowing more of the imprisoned women to devote their efforts to milking and caring for the larger herd. By all accounts, the inmates took exceptional care of the animals; in a 1916 report, superintendent Wilson remarked that theirs was "one of the finest Holstein herds in the state."³⁶ Not only did the female prisoners take special care of their animals, they were quite efficient in their work; inmates produced all of the dairy

³¹ Ibid.

³² Kansas Board of Control, *First Annual and Biennial Report*, 668; State Board of Corrections, *Second Biennial Report*, 100.

³³ Kansas Board of Control, *First Annual and Biennial Report*, 654.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ State Board of Corrections, *Second Biennial Report*, 100.

³⁶ Ibid.

products needed by the prison. In 1915 and 1916 alone, the dairy department produced 3,394 pounds of butter and 27,957 gallons of milk, products that had a market value of nearly \$6,000.³⁷

The poultry department offered another opportunity for female prisoners to provide manual labor and supply the institution with foodstuffs, all the while rehabilitating their moral character through domestic physical labor. Similar to the dairy department, the poultry department saw great expansion in the year 1916. In the previous year, administrators at the school had purchased six incubators; within a year's time, they were in proper working order.³⁸ In the spring of 1916, the imprisoned women hatched 2,500 chicks, a sufficient number to provide the school with all the eggs needed for self-sufficiency.³⁹ The poultry department also expanded structurally in 1916, as the prison erected a modern chicken house that provided ample space for all of the chicks hatched in the department. Administrators touted their success, noting the visible moral reformation that took place in the poultry department. Superintendent Wilson paid particular attention to the interest the girls showed for the poultry department, noting that a number of girls even planned to establish a poultry farm after they had left the institution.⁴⁰ By wanting to establish a poultry farm after their incarceration at the Kansas Industrial School for Girls, the inmates demonstrated a propensity for productive industrial behavior, which spoke to the rehabilitative success of the institution. This sort of behavioral transformation exemplified the words of superintendent Perry, that "the spirit of industry is the greatest safeguard against a life of vice and crime."⁴¹ Indeed, through physical labor in the poultry department, the prisoners in the Industrial School were well on their way to a "proper" moral life.

Female inmates also provided physical labor in the prison garden as part of the moral rehabilitative curriculum of the Kansas Industrial School for Girls. In the garden, the female prisoners preformed all of the physical duties required of a functioning agricultural system. This entailed such laborious tasks as cultivating the soil, sowing the seeds, and eventually, harvesting the produce. Despite the difficult manual labor, the imprisoned females produced all of the fruits and vegetables required by the prison, goods with a market value of \$4,979 in 1916.⁴² Not only was the garden's produce economically profitable, it was also quite diverse. The garden produced 29 different varieties of fruits and vegetables, including staples of the Industrial School's menu, such as onions, tomatoes, and lettuce.⁴³ The garden was of particular importance to the rehabilitative curriculum of the Industrial School because it provided an arena in which the prisoners could

³⁷ Ibid., 110.

³⁸ Ibid., 101.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ State Board of Corrections, *Second Biennial Report*, 101.

⁴¹ Kansas Board of Control, *First Annual and Biennial Report*, 651.

⁴² State Board of Corrections, *Second Biennial Report*, 110.

⁴³ Ibid., 101.

learn important agricultural methods. Just as prison administrators envisioned the reformed females retaining the skills they learned in the dairy and poultry department, administrators hoped that the agricultural skills learned in the garden would be replicated by the females on a much smaller scale, namely in a post-release, domestic environment.

While the manual labor the prisoners provided was economically important to the Industrial School because the imprisoned women were able to produce all of the vegetables, dairy products, and eggs needed for consumption, it was equally important to the rehabilitation of the inmates. The physical portion of the training was vital to the rehabilitation of the female inmates because it provided the incarcerated women with a set of vocations useful in the gendered society of early 20th century America. More importantly, physical training was important because it flawlessly complemented the mental training of the rehabilitative curriculum. Through extensive manual labor, the inmates gained practical expertise in dairying, keeping chickens, and basic horticulture. Likewise, through “mental training” the female prisoners obtained theoretical skills, including the proper methods for the selection, preparation, and presentation of food. The combination of the mental and physical training therefore, in essence, provided the incarcerated females with all of the knowledge required to become perfectly functioning “feminine” adults. In other words, the mental and physical training provided the prisoners with the skills necessary to be a proper homemaker in the early 20th century. This specific rehabilitative model used at the Kansas Industrial School for Girls was emblematic of the broader penal reform movement’s gendered rehabilitative programs because it specifically tailored the reformatory programs to the roles of women; administrators exclusively taught domestic skills expected of rural women in early 20th century America.

In a similar fashion, representative of the broader American women’s penal reform movement, the Kansas Industrial School for Girls adopted the specific objective of moral reformation, differentiating women’s criminal behavior from men’s and attributing the former to a lack of moral virtue. To this end, the Industrial School adopted the cottage system, a softer and more feminine architectural system designed specifically for the moral rehabilitation of women. In addition, the Industrial School also filled its administrative ranks with female wardens, a prescription of early penal reformer Elizabeth Fry. These features of the prison all contributed to an atmosphere of moral refinement, important in the rehabilitation of morally deviant female prisoners. Central to the “feminization” of the Kansas Industrial School for Girls however, was the emphasis on a domestic curriculum, one that specifically emphasized food production and culinary training. The imprisoned women learned culinary theory through daily mental instruction and applied these techniques in the domestic cottage setting. At the same time, they learned the basic methods of early 20th century food production through physical labor in the dairy and poultry department, as well as through physical labor performed in the prison garden. In this respect, food production and culinary training played a significant role, not only in the vocational train-

ing provided within the Kansas Industrial School, but more importantly, in the overall rehabilitation process of the female prisoner; not only was it thought that an emphasis on a domestic curriculum would prepare the prisoners for reintroduction into society, but also that it would reform the inner moral character of the female prisoner. Therefore, as exemplified by the Kansas Industrial School for Girls, domestic food production and culinary training (the training of food selection and preparation) were central tenets of the all-female penal institution in early 20th century America, defining themselves as equally important in the rehabilitation process as the well-known architectural and administrative structure of Elizabeth Fry's "feminized" reformatory.

